

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 NAIROB 06929 031514Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O R 031445Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY SANA  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T NAIROBI 6929

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, MASS, SO, US, UR, KE, ET  
SUBJECT: SOMALI AMBASSADOR ON CUBANS IN ETHIOPIA, SOVIET ROLE  
IN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALI-KENYAN RELATIONS

REF: NAIROBI 5181

1. SOMALI AMBASSADOR TO KENYA DUALEH AGAIN LUNCED WITH ME AT HIS  
REQUEST JUNE 3. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST WAS HIS CATEGORICAL  
REASSERTION THAT THERE IS CURRENTLY A SUBSTANTIAL CUBAN MILITARY  
PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA AS HE CLAIMED EARLIER (REFTEL). HE SAID  
THAT SOMALIA'S INTELLIGENCE ON THIS SUBJECT, WHICH DERIVED FROM  
REPORTS OF ETHNIC SOMALI OFFICERS IN ETHIOPIAN ARMED FORCES,  
CURRENTLY INDICATES "MINIMUM" PRESENCE OF 800 CUBAN MILITARY

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PERSONNEL AT FOUR PRINCIPAL LOCATIONS IN ETHIOPIA -- HARAR,  
ASMARA, ASSAB, AND HADAMA.

2. DUALEH SAID SOMALI GOVERNMENT CONVINCED THAT MENGISTU'S  
SHARP TURN TO SOVIET UNION FOR MILITARY BACKING NOT REPEAT NOT  
PRECIPITATED BY ETHIOPIAN IRRITATION WITH U.S. OVER HUMAN  
RIGHTS OR OTHER MATTERS, BUT PRIMARILY BY TWO-FOLD SOVIET

ASSURANCES: (1) MASSIVE SOVIET MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH WOULD QUICKLY REPLACE COMPLETELY U.S.-MADE ARMS, AND (2) SOME TYPE OF SOVIET "GUARANTEE" AGAINST MILITARY INVASION OF ETHIOPIA BY SOMALIA DURING PERIOD OF ETHIOPIA'S RELATIVE MILITARY WEAKNESS WHEN TRANSITION FROM AMERICAN TO SOVIET ARMS WILL TAKE PLACE. DUALEH COMMENTED, HOWEVER, THAT, WHILE SOMALIA WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE ARMS TO SOMALI INSURGENTS WHO ARE OPERATING WITH "INCREASING SUCCESS" WITHIN ETHIOPIA, SOMALI GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT MAKE MISTAKE OF OVERTLY ATTACKING ETHIOPIA WITH ITS ARMED FORCES, AS HISTORY HAD TAUGHT SOMALIS THAT ANY INVASION OF ETHIOPIA BY IDENTIFIABLY FOREIGN TROOPS WOULD HAVE A UNIFYING EFFECT ON ETHIOPIA'S QUARRELING FACTIONS, "WHICH IS EXACTLY WHAT MENGISTU WOULD LIKE."

3. DUALEH SAID SOMALI GOVERNMENT BELIEVES SOVIETS UNDERTOOK NEW ETHIOPIAN INITIATIVE PARTLY ON ASSUMPTION ADVERSE REACTION BY SOMALIA WOULD BE MANAGEABLE AND PARTLY BECAUSE SOVIETS HAD CONCLUDED SOMALIS NOT, IN ANY CASE, IN POSITION TO FOREGO SOVIET AID. HE SAID BOTH SOVIETS AND CASTRO HAD TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO CONVINCE SOMALI GOVERNMENT THAT COMMON BOND OF SOCIALISM SHOULD BE OVERRIDING FACTOR IN SOMALIA'S RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT SOMALIA'S CURRENT POLICY OPTIONS ARE INDEED SOMEWHAT LIMITED, DUALEH CLAIMED THAT "EVERY SOMALI, HIGH AND LOW" NOW REGARDS ETHIOPIA'S NEW FRIEND (USSR) AS SOMALIA'S ENEMY. NOTING THAT SOMALIA HAD JUST BEEN VISITED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS OF IRAN AND UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, HE ASSERTED THAT OTHER ALTERNATIVES BEING EXPLORED AND THAT SOMALIA'S FOREIGN POLICY WILL BE DETERMINED BY "NATIONAL INTERESTS" (READ IRREDENTISM) AND NOT IDEOLOGY.

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4. FINALLY, DUALEH SAW SOME HOPE OF IMPROVEMENTS IN KENYAN-SOMALI RELATIONS IF TWO SIDES AGREE TO FOCUS ON MATTERS WHERE AGREEMENT CAN BE READILY REACHED. HOWEVER, HE MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT NO GOVERNMENT IN MOGADISCIO WOULD SURVIVE IF IT WERE TO RENOUNCE ITS CLAIMS TO KENYA'S SOMALI-INHABITED NORTHEAST. NEVERTHELESS, SOMALI GOVERNMENT ACCORDS MUCH LOWER PRIORITY TO KENYAN TERRITORIES THAN SOMALI-INHABITED AREAS OF ETHIOPIA.

LINDSTROM

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## Message Attributes

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